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123 Čątú heard about it he gashed himself in the corresponding spot with a knife. Such
608 a display of friendship is usually rewarded with a present.

For a pinčwę'i such performances are carried to a grotesque degree: Once a little
608 girl had been stung by a scorpion, whereupon her two pinčwę'i executed a mad
522 scene before the assembled throng outdoors. While the child was howling with pain inside, the women acted as though they had caught the scorpion (which had long since got away) and were allowing it to sting them. Then they pretended crushing it between their fingers and devouring it. In addition they indulged in all sorts of antics, evoking general mirth.

152 Similar nonsense is also practiced whenever a "friend" is ceremoniously distinguished, that is, especially at the beginning or the termination of seclusion in the initiation and the pepkahą'k festivals. Then the friends carry on most extravagantly around their hąpín by way of displaying their mad exultation over the distinction conferred on him. On one occasion a man straddled his sword club as though it were a hobbyhorse and wildly galloped about, wielding his signal trumpet as a crop; another howled and scratched up the earth like a dog; still another pulled back his prepuce and simulated copulation. Most commonly they dance about with protruding tongues, grotesquely swinging their limbs and their heads.

Mutual ceremonial obligations are extremely numerous and intricate. A friend
608 invests a person with ornaments, glues falcon down on his body, and paints him.
302 When the first commandant of the pepyé is freed from seclusion, his pinčwę'i decorates him. If possible it is a hąpín that paints a pepyé with the designs of his plaza group; and at pepkahą'k the pinčwę'i glue falcon down on the King Vultures, and the similar decoration of the pepkahą'k themselves devolves on corresponding
[768] girl friends. Anyone who has been excluded from social intercourse by long absence or seclusion due to illness, mourning, and the like, cannot resume normal participation in the communal life unless he is first painted by a pinčwę'i or hąpín and has thus presented himself before the council in the plaza. Whenever, for example, I return to the tribe, my pinčwę'ipey, Kaṅõ', paints me and, because of my status as a King Vulture, hence, hąmrén, she also decorates me with falcon down. At a major ceremony of the great festivals the friends of either sex are compensated for their services with meat pies offered by the decorated performers' kinswomen; otherwise a minor gift constitutes their fee.

● [764] When set on the bier, a man's corpse is painted by his pinčwę'i, a woman's by her hąpín, falcon down being substituted in case of a hąmrén. The remuneration is not taken from the dead person's property.

In most cases the decoration worn at a ceremony is surrendered at its close to
608 the wearer's hąpín and pinčwę'i. At the end of a pepyé seclusion the comb with
292 which a novice's sister had stroked his hair was immediately turned over to his pinčwę'i, who suspended it from her neck. After the solemn parading of the first pepyé commandant subsequent to the lifting of his seclusion, his pinčwę'ipey immediately removed all his decorative outfit, viz., his forehead and girdle bands, bandoleers, and cotton belt; and nothing could induce her to sell me these regalia. The two girls graduating with the pepyé were divested by their pinčwę'i at the girls' final appearance in the plaza, while their hąpín appropriated the presents laid down for that purpose before them by the girls' kinswomen. At the close of their festival the pepyé, decorated with cloths, beads, and green tucum cords, left for a log race against the next oldest age class; at the exit from the village their pinčwę'i surrounded them and took off all their ornaments. Similarly, the women and girls who twice divest the pepkahą'k of their yellow cords are the wearers' "friends."

After the husband's death the widow and her children are shielded from want by her brothers and sisters. A widower normally returns to his mother's house. He is really the one more deserving of pity, especially after decades of wedlock, when he is too old to remarry. Accordingly, two old widowers with adult daughters did not take the trouble to move to their matrilineal home, but for the rest of their lifetime remained with their girls. On the other hand, young widowers who contemplate remarriage leave the house of the deceased a few days after the death even if there should be issue. However, father and children visit each other, the former occasionally bringing the youngsters a gift consisting of victuals and in turn being entertained by them.

When a man moves into his mother-in-law's home, his social position alters only with reference to this new relationship to the inmates of the house and to his age class in so far as he ceases to sleep with the bachelors in the plaza. Otherwise his social activities hardly suffer any change; of the many social units with which he is affiliated only the family takes cognizance of the cleavage between married and single men.

Strictly speaking, a husband cannot be said to "move" from his maternal to his mother-in-law's home; he rather becomes a member of two households simultaneously, and I have always had the impression that he feels the bond with his mother's house as far closer than with his wife's. This is quite natural since the former is indestructible, while the latter may be dissolved any day. For example, a married man continues to turn over part of his game to his mother's household or has his wife do so. Either alone or in the company of his wife he will often spend a part of the day with his mother, who prepares food for both spouses. Usually a man also keeps part of his personal belongings at his mother's—if for no other reason, in order to preserve them from encroachments by his brothers-in-law. Further, as indicated above, a man who falls seriously ill goes back to his mother's, usually with his wife, to remain there till his recovery. If it is at all possible, a Timbira dies at his mother's house, where the corpse is invariably laid out.

At his mother's a man always is respected and decisively influences his sister's children, for whose support he is in part responsible in an emergency. His role in a niece's marriage has been noted; anciently, a nephew was his preordained companion in a raid against enemies and preceded him in an attack.

After the official council session and the subsequent chat in the plaza, that is, about 7:30 P.M., the dignitaries and their male auditors by no means depart straightaway to their wives, each rather regularly betaking himself to his matrilineal home, where he is an expected guest at that hour. As soon as he has seated himself there on a bed, his mother, sister, or niece serves him some food that has always been previously prepared for him. Not until he has eaten and uttered his opinion on family affairs does he leave for his wife's home.

MOURNING

Whenever a married Indian goes on a protracted journey—say, a begging jaunt to one of the coastal state capitals—his wife goes into a mourner's seclusion until his return. This retreat differs from that customary after a death only through the lack of lamentation and its possibly much greater duration. The woman ceases to cut her hair and to paint herself, puts on no decorative object, does not appear publicly, holds conversation only with her house mates, and rarely leaves her platform bed. Kentapí thus mourned over her absent husband from the beginning of August, 1930, until the beginning of April, 1931. Snr. Marcellino Miranda, the

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his presentation always involving the gift of a gourd bowl of food or of a meat pie. At various other ceremonies the chiefs and elders also get meat pies and other victuals in the plaza.

At the close of the pepyé retreat in 1933 I witnessed a ceremony that publicly and formally expressed the principle that old women merit respect as much as old men. Ordinarily there is no feminine counterpart to the men's council in the plaza; but on that day the old women were invited by the councilors to take the male elders' places in the plaza, the councilors themselves withdrawing to a spot on the margin. Then two youths and a girl hauled in a huge meat pie on a mat and handed it over to the old women, who forthwith divided it up and ate it precisely in the manner of the councilors, whereupon they went home.

Among the Timbira the designation "old woman" or "woman" is never applied to men vituperatively.

BURIAL

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As stated previously, a Canella, whenever possible, tries to die in his matrilineal home. In 1929 I saw relatives of a very old, sick woman exerting themselves to the utmost in order to get her home alive—an end accomplished only by dashing across the steppe with the patient, who was resting in a makeshift hammock. Several minutes after her arrival she died. In any case a corpse is never laid on a bier except in the maternal home.

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A dying person is placed on mats in the middle of the house, with his feet toward the door. Except in the case of a prominent figure in the community no one but the next of kin customarily assembles around the patient. A brief lament uttered by his mother, aunt, grandmother, or sister announces his passing away. Thereupon his maternal and paternal kin, as well as his hąpín, assemble in the house of mourning, but the general lament by all present does not begin until about an hour later, with the preparation of the corpse, during which all sit round it on mats placed in juxtaposition.

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The ablutions and ornamentation devolve on the deceased individual's special pinčwę'i or hąpín, but other hąpín also help. They cut his hair, pluck out his eyebrows, smooth his features, and put on his decorations. He is painted with urucú or—if a hąmrén—decorated with falcon down. The corpses of little children are taken into the nearest relatives' laps (including males) and bewailed. Individual lamentations now begin to swell into a chorus of blubbering and a loud, rapid, monotonous chant: "When you were still alive, I was very fond of you, but now I do not want you any more! Don't return here!" The widow and kinswomen of the deceased may weep themselves into a paroxysm of despair and attempt suicide, especially as the corpse is being carried outdoors. Suddenly seizing a tool or firebrand, the mourner may strike herself a terrific blow over the head or back. Or she may run into the space in front of the house and, precisely like her Guaraní and Apinayé sisters,[88] take a header (kamdočép) against the hard ground, possibly breaking her neck. Many years ago a mother, seeing her dead child carried away, is said to have run into the steppe and hanged herself there. Men never commit suicide on this occasion, and generally only the maternal uncle and grandfather are conspicuous in lamentation.

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At Konkré's little son's funeral I noted the order in which relatives sat round the corpse: Konkré was at the head, his mother Yątkré and her sister Kentapí at the feet, his wife and one of her sisters on the right side, his mother-in-law and another sister-in-law on the left. A little to one side was seated his father-in-law,

[88] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 151.

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chief Ropkᵱ', and opposite him chief Kukrãᵱ', who calls Ropkᵱ' his uncle, was delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkᵱ''s lap he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrãᵱ' rose and went to the plaza to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal uncle who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewise took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attention to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the child of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always comes forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. The mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been described (p. 102).

Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buried behind his mother's home, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahô in 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind the house; the Rąmkõ'kamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infant.

The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and the corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[33] At present, at least among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extended on its back.

If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an all-night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many related persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared for the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for the dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at both ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carry to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the village. A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None of the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Põrekamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; and the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assumes, but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[34] The opening of the grave is covered with transversely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth. Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on this mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roaming domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carrying basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the like.

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated in the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty spot where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in front of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which is paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

Like the Apinayé,[35] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who dies "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, will return to his mother's home in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite like

[33] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbras, 173.
[34] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 26–28.
[35] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 182.

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775 171 that of the Apinayé: the relatives stimulate a hunt, prepare a meat pie, and at nightfall set it on a little scaffold behind the house in the steppe, with a gourd bowl full of water. While the rest of the people are dancing in the plaza, an old man watches near by until he hears a rustling in the leafy wrapper of the pie. Then he announces to the others: "He has already eaten!" Thereupon the councilors have the pie brought to the plaza, where they distribute it among themselves.

766 In 1935 I witnessed an unusual funeral ceremony. Kwqirê're, a young woman of about nineteen, had died in confinement. She had been the girl associate of the hapranpotkama age class and because of her gentle, amiable disposition enjoyed extraordinary popularity. Since by virtue of her office she was hqmrén, her corpse had falcon down glued on and its cheeks were decorated with small black triangles. Thus it lay on a mat opposite the door, surrounded by her wailing tribesmen.

In the meantime her age class assembled in the plaza, where they sat down in a line, while a precentor slowly shook his rattle and sang in an undertone. At last they rose, trotted toward the house of mourning, entered, and formed a line on both sides of the door, facing the corpse, continuing to sing with muffled voices, and adumbrating dance movements. Suddenly three of them stepped up to the corpse, one of them raising it from the rear and setting it on its feet, while his two companions took her arms. Thus they executed with the dead woman characteristically feminine dance movements, making her bend the knees slightly and move her arms, which were flexed at right angles, backward and forward. The lament swelled into a terrific hubbub, men, women, and children all howling in savage desperation. The corpse's pale, decorated countenance, over which a half-indifferent smile seemed to glide, contrasted oddly with the grief-distorted, tear-stained faces of the mourners. The macabre dance lasted only a few seconds, then the three laid down the body, folded the mats over it, tied up the bundle, and lifted it to their shoulders without the customary attachment to a pole. With it they ran outdoors, followed by their classmates, and disappeared at a trot. Thus the class carried their dead associate to her grave after having once more made her dance before them as of yore.

764 177 Formerly all the Timbira practiced secondary burial. Among the Pörekamekra Pohl obtained the following account:

Nach Verlauf eines Jahres versammelt sich die Gemeinde wieder unter denselben Ausdrücken der Trauer an dem Grabe; es wird gebetet, der Körper herausgenommen, hingelegt, und man erzählt ihm alles was sich seit seinem Tod in der Aldee im Allgemeinen und in seiner Familie im Besonders zugetragen hat. Hierauf werden die Gebeine des Verstorbenen mit Urucú rot bemalt, und zur abermaligen Beerdigung nach dem allgemeinen Begräbnisplatz getragen.

Until some twenty years ago the Canella still maintained secondary burial in individual cases, at least for the hqmrén; for the rest of the population the custom had fallen into desuetude. Formerly, the secondary interment took place three or five years after the first. The most appropriate person to execute it was the husband of the widow's sister; and if a bachelor undertook the job, he thereby acquired a certain claim to the hand of the widow's unmarried sister. Unfortunately I do not know what preferential conditions obtained at the secondary burial of a woman.

The bones were scraped clean with an implement from the leafstalk of a bacaba palm and were painted with urucú. Then they were wrapped up in cotton threads specially spun for the purpose by the dead person's mother (or a kinswoman acting as her substitute) and tied together. Finally the remains were put into a burity bag and buried in a shallow hole in the cemetery.

The period of mourning and the rules of inheritance are described elsewhere (pp. 126, 158).

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431 knife—a Collins 128—stuck in a new leather sheath, and calmly added it to the
437 gifts. When the kẹ'makra and atụ'kmakra go on a joint hunting trip, the former
422 give to the latter a bow, whatever is required for shooting, and the knife for cutting
425 up the game. The killer of a jaguar would exchange weapons with the first companion summoned by his call, even surrendering a gun for a bow. The tool used by the elders in manufacturing the kokré log at the close of the ceremonial period is not returned to the vụ'tẹ''s father.

Decorative articles manufactured by special persons for the wearer never remain his property, being generally passed on—sometimes after hardly a few minutes' use—to his hapín. On the other hand, the kõkrj't masks become the property of the Mummers' "mothers" at the close of the festive period (p. 212). In other instances the councilors decide who is to receive the decoration. Thus the ketúaye outfit of 1930 was divided between me and the father of the girl associate, Iromkré, for he had taken great pains to fulfill his obligations toward his daughter's age-class moietv; and I had made a contribution for the festival. For the same reason in 1933 the council bestowed on me the ceremonial lance of the pepyé (pl. 31, *c*, *d*).

On well-nigh innumerable occasions food or prepared dishes, notably meat pies, must be provided. I should have to go through the entire ceremonial to list all the instances. The offerings range from an ordinary bowlful of food and the dramatic remuneration of the plaza groups by the novices' kinswomen, who set up in front of the youths' matrilineal homes carrying baskets (po) ostentatiously crammed with victuals. The obligations of the King Vultures also may be cited here, as well as the history of the arara feathers on the lance awarded to the leader of the Clowns.

424 Alienable incorporeal property is unknown. Ceremonial functions are conveyed
789 gratis by inheritance along with the correlated personal names. All songs are common property, to be learnt and sung by anyone willing and able to do so. The Sun is addressed in impromptu words, and I have never noted any signs of magical formulae.

428 Since prior to contact with civilization the Timbira hardly owned objects of
[764] permanent value, the rules of inheritance must have been of minor significance. Snethlage goes so far as to allege (without citing his source) the destruction or interment with the corpse of such personal belongings as weapons, tools, and decoration. Such destruction is unknown to the contemporary Canella. If an Indian dies without issue, his present heirs are his matrilineal kindred, who for the time being take his weapons and ornaments into custody. Two or three days after the funeral they put everything on a mat, around which the relatives assemble for a lament. The gravedigger also appears and is allowed to pick out one or two items from the legacy. Formerly the usage was not to compensate him in this way, but with two newly plaited carrying baskets and large, decorated gourd bowls. The rest was distributed among the relatives. The dead man's sister's son does not receive any special share. On the other hand, they always give the widow some portion of the inheritance; in decency she, in turn, retaining as she does the cultivated plot, will give her mother-in-law a present from the crops raised there. If the deceased has children, they appropriate everything, irrespective of their sex. A woman's house and field, as well as her other belongings, are inherited by her daughter; if there is none, her sister or her sister's daughter inherits, never the deceased woman's husband or son. Thus, children of both sexes inherit from their father, but only a daughter inherits from her mother.

681 *Penal law.*—Since all the emphasis is on the preservation of intratribal peace,
622 penal law is little developed. Ribeiro says:[248]

[248] Memoria, § 10.

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CEMETERY; GRAVE